

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED WEEKLY BY THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The October Campaign.

From the N. Y. Nation. Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana have united their voices with those of Vermont and Maine, in pronouncing the condemnation of the Democratic party. The struggle was more evenly matched than in the far Northern States, and the majorities are not so overwhelming. But they are large enough to make the general result in November doubtless certain. Not only so, but they secure to the Republican candidates a clear majority of all the electoral votes, without counting the vote of a reconstructed State in their favor. The whole number of electoral votes, if all the States were restored, would be 537. Only 294 will, however, be cast. General Grant is secured of 152 votes from the States which were never claimed for the Southern Confederacy, without counting New York in his favor. He is also morally certain to carry Missouri and West Virginia, which will give him 108 votes of indisputable validity. In addition to these he will receive the votes of several reconstructed States, and is quite as likely as anybody else to carry New York and California, in which case Mr. Seymour will receive less than fifty electoral votes. In any event, he cannot possibly get more than ninety.

Although this result has been long foreseen by those who have studied the subject with impartiality, and the figures are exactly the same as those which we gave last June, yet the facts are so remarkable as to excite some wonder in minds which have from the first anticipated them. The Republican party will, next November, have carried three successive Presidential elections by steadily increasing popular majorities. It will have carried a majority of the Northern States for its Presidential candidates four times in succession. It will have had a popular majority in the North at every annual election for eleven years, with only one exception. Such a continuous series of victories is a marvellous thing. Public opinion undergoes even more rapid changes now than in former days. Indeed, the doctrines of the Republican party have changed greatly in some respects. Yet, amid all these changes, and with the heavy disadvantages of an enormous foreign immigration constantly making votes against it—and this is a fact not sufficiently considered—the party has maintained a hold upon the confidence of the people which is without any parallel in the last forty years.

The principal cause of this popular steadfastness may be found in the extraordinary obtuseness and wickedness of the Democratic party—qualities of which it has made even more than its usual display this year. Its obtuseness was illustrated by the nomination of Seymour, its wickedness and obtuseness both by that of Blair; the former proving that it could not get out of its old rut, even to save its life; and the latter showing that the only new allies that were welcome to its camp were those who came with more ferocity of spirit than was possessed even by the old line soldiers. Having thus opened the campaign by throwing away all chance of success in a fair fight, the party managers undertook to maintain their reputation for wickedness, as well as to recover their lost lead by an organized and widespread system of fraud. In Pennsylvania, they manufactured citizens by the thousand, under pretended forms of law, but really in open disregard of the law; and fearing lest these should not suffice, they forged unknown numbers of naturalization certificates. In Indiana, where the law awards most unwise facilities for such operations, and obtains voters from Kentucky in numbers which sufficed to carry two Congressional districts, and very nearly carried the State.

No one seems able to devise the means of punishing or fully preventing these monstrous frauds. The public conscience is not awake to their true character, and respectable men do not treat a political forger as they do the forger of a note. Unfortunately, all parties are more or less guilty in this respect. The Republicans are guilty in Indiana in 1854, excusing themselves on the ground that their opponents were engaged in reasonable conspiracies. The Democrats, of course, have an excuse equally satisfactory to themselves. But, beyond all question, they do the most cheating, and their preponderance of sin brings its punishment in the loss of nearly enough votes among honorable men to make up for all that they gain by fraud. Moreover, men who uniformly cheat their political opponents are absolutely sure to cheat among themselves; and the majority of the Democratic party for the fraudulent character of its internal management has much to do with its present depressed condition.

How depressed that condition is, we have all been made aware by the extraordinary proposition of a change in the candidates of the party. This suggestion, although not adopted, has received a degree of attention that would never have been given to it if the party had not despaired of success. The Republican majority in Pennsylvania is not very large, while that in Indiana is extremely small; yet no sensible Democrat dreams of overcoming either in November. The Democrats have obviously lost all hope of further gains; and no longer dreams of victory outside of New York and New Jersey. Of course, no change can now be made either in the ticket or the platform. Rhetorically, it is well to praise "audacity," but when one-third of an army secretly longs for an excuse to desert, a change of flag or leader in the face of the enemy is a fatal experiment. The Democratic managers want to keep their party together for another struggle, although in this they foresee inevitable defeat.

The Republicans lose seven members of Congress, and these losses, added to those which are certain to be sustained in November, practically in the Southern States, make quite two-thirds of the party will not have quite the majority of the next House of Representatives. While regretting the loss of some faithful members, we are not dissatisfied with the general result. The majority in Congress has been too large for its own good. It has had the power of suspending the rules and shutting off debate, whenever it was disposed, and it has exercised this power far too often for the welfare of the country and of the party. The majority in the next House, even if it numbers two-thirds, will be unable to do more than such a vote without the unanimous concurrence of the party; and the moderate members will thus be able to hold their more incalculable associates in check.

Indeed, the comparative smallness of the majorities by which the fate of this campaign has been decided is not a matter of great regret. We should have been more sorry than we can well express if the majorities had been the other way; but we think they are about as large as a far-seeing friend of Republicanism could desire. The result actually attained will secure the substantial fruits of the more sweeping victory, while it will also, we believe, impress upon the party con-

sels that moderation and patience which, far more than any temporary majorities, secure permanent and satisfactory triumphs.

No Word Yet for Free Speech.

From the N. Y. Evening Post. There remain only nine days from now till election day. Only nine days remain in which the Democratic leaders have the opportunity to speak out in favor of free discussion, and to condone the outrages upon Republicans, which increase daily in frequency.

Will not the Democratic leaders say one word only? Are they really so lost to their duty as citizens, so lost to shame, so forgetful of what is right, and so blind to their own interest, as to remain silent when the whole country reads daily official accounts of the murder of Republican sheriffs, judges, and other officers for no other reason than that they are Republicans? The right of an American to hold whatever political or religious opinions he thinks proper, and to express and defend them to any one who chooses to listen to him, is surely the one right which he ought to possess in peace wherever our flag flies. The exercise of the right of free discussion is too important to the whole people, too nearly connected with the preservation of our liberties, to be stopped or interfered with. General Hampton, of South Carolina, the author of the revolutionary war in the North and West are silent. They have an admirer of what he calls the "one-party" system, which used to obtain in South Carolina; but pretty much everybody else knows that the strife of parties, the clash of argument, the free discussion before the people, of two or more opposing policies, is the best and the necessary political training for the people; and that a strong opposition in legislative bodies is the safeguard of liberty.

Yet here, in six or seven States, the attempt is deliberately made to crush out one party. Its meetings for discussion are broken up; its speakers, and public officers elected by it, are murdered; in at least one instance, Republicans have been shot down, and those who fled were pursued by bloodhounds, because they dared to hold a Republican meeting.

All these outrages on free speech have been committed; the history of them is certified by official reports; and yet the Democratic leaders in the North and West are silent. They have not a word of reproach to their Southern allies; not a word of remonstrance, not a word in favor of free speech.

But this is not all. These Northern Democratic leaders have been loudly called on by the press and by public opinion to speak out for free speech; to condemn the Canilla and other outrages and murders; to clear their own skirts of participation in and approval of these crimes against lawful liberty. It is known that the Northern Democratic leaders have only to say a few decisive, earnest words, to put a stop to the violence of Southern Democrats against Republicans. But they have refused to say a word for free speech. The Democratic committees issue addresses—but no word in them urges peaceable and orderly discussion. Mr. Seymour makes speeches—but he has no word for free speech. Mr. Blair is on the stump—but is silent on a question which agitates the whole land.

What are we to understand? That these Democratic leaders care nothing for free speech? That they have no regard for Republican lives sacrificed in defense of this right in the South than they had for those who fell before the New York rioters? That seems to be the case. But the American people like free speech; they will have it; they hold, with General Grant, that "such a degree of peace and tranquillity shall exist in this country that a man may speak his mind in any part of our great land, and that without molestation or hindrance. The attitude of the Democratic leaders, their suppression of free speech in the South, and their refusal to say anything for it in the North, make it prudent for all Democrats who love free speech to support Grant. He is the candidate of free speech. He believes in the right of an American citizen freely to speak his mind on political questions; and he has not been afraid to say so.

Seymour's Petition.

From the N. Y. Tribune. Governor Seymour pleads the baby act. He begs votes for President on the assumption that he couldn't do much harm in the White House if he tried. Congress will be against him; so he could not carry out the Blair-Hampton programme if he were to attempt it. But he could do harm. We call Andrew Johnson to witness. The ungrateful apostate has done immense harm, with Congress much more heavily adverse to him than Seymour, if elected, would find in the party-second. He had power to retard and embarrass the progress of reconstruction. Three States are still out of Congress, when all would have been long since in place but for Johnson's treachery. Georgia recently took the back track, and ostracized her loyal blacks under the joint impulse of Johnson's delinquency and Seymour's anticipated patronage of Rebel persecution. At least two thousand loyal men lie cold in death who would not have been murdered if Andrew Johnson, Horatio Seymour, or some other one of their school had not been President of the United States. Seymour's plea is sophistical. It ignores the most palpable facts. It shuts its eyes to the recent history and present condition of the South. Because the uprising of the people has already precluded his doing, if President, all the harm he might otherwise have chosen or been driven on to do, he argues that he cannot do any. Abundant facts confute him.

Governor Seymour asks why we have not peace and order at the South, why reconstruction has not done its perfect work. We answer, because an ally of the Rebels sits in the White House, exalting ingenuity in device after device to baffle Congress and keep the South in hot water until it can be reconstructed Rebel side up, with the loyal blacks trampled in the mire. "That's what's the matter," and the whole of it. Had Hannibal Hamlin been chosen Vice-President in '64, as he should have been, the South would long since have been reconstructed and at peace. John Wilkes Booth is the chief architect of our existing troubles—Andrew Johnson is his first assistant—while Horatio Seymour aspires to be Johnson's successor. But the people forbid it. They will have peace, not four years hence, but forthwith. To this end they will, to-morrow week elect Grant and Colfax.

Seymour's Speeches and Grant's Silence. From the N. Y. Times. The World, having bullied Governor Seymour into blowing his own trumpet during the brief remnant of the canvass, is encouraging to try bullying General Grant into the same performance. There is no fear of its succeeding. A party or a paper deals with an entirely different man from Governor Seymour when it attempts to banter or drive General Grant. Grant is no man of puffy, to be shaped anew by the fingers of political managers. The same reasons which imposed a dignified silence on him at the outset of the canvass will cause him to preserve it. The reticence and life-long modesty which have characterized him would never have been put aside for the exigencies of party service. He

will not blow his own trumpet, and bid for votes by his voice.

Nor does he need to follow Mr. Seymour's example. Here is the precise point, indeed, to which we call attention. Seymour was fairly driven to take the stump by the piteous cries of his friends. Grant rests confidently on the public appreciation of his course, already made manifest, and needs resort to no new professions. Seymour is forced to speak to convince his own countrymen; that he and Blair do not mean war. Grant said, and the people believed and have responded, "Let us have peace." Grant will be elected without lowering his dignity, breaking his self-imposed silence, making any display of explanations or excuses, or personally putting forth any claims as orator, financier, statesman, or general, or anything else. Seymour will be defeated, after having been driven to the desperate expedient of electioneering for himself.

We say "electioneering for himself," because that is precisely what the World says. It urged him to speak, simply in order to get votes, and a well-figured enthusiasm of credulity, the results of the speaking simply in electioneering figures. This important practical question is, says the World, "how many new votes will thereby be brought to the Democratic side." Not less than four hundred in Indiana, and four thousand in Pennsylvania. But the World has already said, as told its party that Seymour was a dead cock in the pit; and now does it believe he can win by crowing? Americans are not such simpletons as the World would imply, or otherwise they would long ago have obliged it by taking its brags of carrying Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana for prophecies, and its editorials for gospel; nor will they now find Seymour's eleventh hour appeals for his election more than Grant's attitude of perfect confidence. Seymour was driven up to the rescue of his own party; but Grant's soldiers and friends and countrymen did for him all the talking required. Nor were their words needful; they used only to be pointed to their leader's deeds and "bid them speak for him."

The World, we repeat, has smoked out Seymour. In escorting him to the footlights, it attempts to disarm the criticism which his cautious appearance (as if to make his last political will and testament) instantly suggests, by villipanding his great rival for not making the same show of himself. "Grant," it says, "is as dumb as an oyster;" it affects to despise "the torpid intellect of the swordsmen"—his "narrow, barren intellect." With the disdain of conscious superiority it exclaims, "He thinks!" To all of which, and several columns more in the same vein, we simply reply, that kind of talk did not carry that the Northern Democratic leaders have only to say a few decisive, earnest words, to put a stop to the violence of Southern Democrats against Republicans. But they have refused to say a word for free speech. The Democratic committees issue addresses—but no word in them urges peaceable and orderly discussion. Mr. Seymour makes speeches—but he has no word for free speech. Mr. Blair is on the stump—but is silent on a question which agitates the whole land.

The Party of Bloodshed.

From the N. Y. World. Run over the catalogue of Southern "outrages," and find one that did not redound to the benefit of the radical party. Put your finger on one that did not occur just in that particular place and just at that particular time when and where it was most for the advantage of that party that it should. Then apply the rule of the original law that the party benefited by the offense is presumptively the actual or instigating offender, and see if the guilt of all this bloodshed in the South is not upon the radical leaders.

Take the New Orleans riot of 1866. It occurred in August, and in October, by means of the Democratic leaders, their suppression of free speech in the South, and their refusal to say anything for it in the North, make it prudent for all Democrats who love free speech to support Grant. He is the candidate of free speech. He believes in the right of an American citizen freely to speak his mind on political questions; and he has not been afraid to say so.

Come down to a later day. They entered on the work of reconstruction on the plea that life and property were not safe in the South, and it was necessary for them to resort to extra constitutional measures to make them so. The President interposed, and they at once overrode him. The Supreme Court began to move, and they clapped a muzzle upon it. The whole power of this country was absolutely in their hands. They were altogether without let or hindrance, and their schemes failed, utterly, shamefully, disgracefully failed. It was seen that their measures, which were to give "adequate protection to life and property" by means of "legal State Governments," was in reality but a bringing in of seven devils worse to the house they had assumed to sweep and garnish. It was evident that nothing but brute force could uphold the unnatural fabric, based as it was for its corner-stone on lately emancipated negro slaves. It was a failure, but the knowledge of that failure must be cloaked from the public eye, and it was done. "Why didn't you more 'outrages.'" Word went forth to get them up. All through July and August there came up from the South the most fearful assortment of raw-head-and-bloody-bones tales. The bogus Governors began to bawl for troops, these very Governors, mind you, who incarnated the new system which was to have been peace. The pretended Convention of Texas, cooked up a hideous report of "outrages," "lawless" on their imagination for the war, and filling up the web with the stray crimes that always happen in border regions; and this though General Grant had himself said, in an official communication of October 13, 1866, as to this very Texas, that "occasional murders will take place on our frontiers, and would if our people were all soldiers." In September came further "outrages" to feed the flame. Tennessee had had its Memphis. It was, therefore, a good place to play the game. Forthwith the Ku-Klux danced its phantasmagoric pow-wow in the columns of every radical sheet. Brownlow led color to the move by assembling his trencherman in special session. Forrest was beset by hired spies who dogged his steps and perverted his statements in "our special correspondence." Then came Camilla. Congress was to reassemble on the 21st of September. On the 19th prior, a hired assassin marched at the head of three or four hundred armed negroes, infantry and cavalry, on a little village, related the Sheriff, defied even the reconstructed Governor's proclamation, and led to blood, so that

Congress might meet with an "outrage" fresh to its hand.

Run over this catalogue now. See if there is one of these lamentable evils that has not been to the advantage of the radical party. Memphis and New Orleans gave them a two-thirds in the Fortieth Congress. Camilla helped win them Pennsylvania, Indiana, and Ohio. By every single one of these outrages radicalism has gained. By every single one the Southern people have lost. Which, then, of the two is the more likely to have provoked them?

Radicalism the party of peace! The party rather of bloodshed, of cold-blooded, calculating, premeditated murder. It was to have restored peace. Why didn't it do so? The President, the Supreme Court, the Southern people, the Democratic party, were all powerless before it. It said to this man go, and he went; to this man come, and he came. The whole power of legislation in this country, a power unexampled in magnitude, since it consisted all inside and all outside of the Constitution, was at its disposal, and, backing up this power, the sword and the pen, the national treasury and the national troops. Where is the peace we were to have? Where the fruits of these two years of absolute radical supremacy? Where the "adequate protection for life and property" in the South that was promised? The Rebels have prevented that. But you were to do it in spite of the Rebels. You knew when you took hold of this matter that the Rebels were a part of the problem. Why, if you are statesmen, did you not allow for that in your calculations? And how dare you, as the recipients and wielders of the entire power of this great country, rise up and say that you haven't given us peace because the Rebels wouldn't let you? If so, they have outgeneralled you; they, a poor, beaten, desolate, helpless people, have beaten you with your own weapons and at your own expense. But you know, you cowardly blunderers, that the truth is far otherwise; that the country is really in its present condition of agony because of your traitorous inefficiency. You haven't solved the problem because you can't solve it. You have no policy but hate, and no statecraft that reaches beyond bloodshed. Stand aside with your bayonets, and let the principles which ruled this country for a half century in glory now restore it to peace.

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